

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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AGGRESSION MUST BE STOPPED

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K. TONČIĆ

POLAND ON A NEW ROAD — THE SAAR AGREEMENT

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THERE IS NOT ALTERNATIVE: aggression must be stopped

PRESIDENT TITO'S STATEMENT

President Tito made the following statement yesterday on the developments in the Near East:

„In the Near East, Israel has launched an open attack on Egypt. This attack creates a dangerous situation and it threatens to develop into a large war which may have unpredictable consequences and repercussions.

„Yesterday Britain and France gave an ultimatum, threatening to occupy the Suez Canal — allegedly to protect it from possible consequences of Israel's penetration into Egyptian territory. This, however, would not be an effective measure against the Israeli aggression or protection from it. and, if the threat is carried out, it will be the continuation of the aggression. In fact these two actions — Israeli and Anglo-French — are so closely linked that they would constitute one and the same aggression.

„So far I have several times, particularly in a statement on August 11, 1956, called everybody's attention to the serious situation in that part of the world. The same has been done by responsible representatives of many other countries as well. People expected that the governments concerned would do all they can to overcome difficulties in a peaceful way and negotiate an agreement on the dispute. But, just when certain prerequisites for a negotiated agreement were created, such as, for instance, the approval of the principles upon which a solution to the Suez crisis should be worked out, the principles which were supported both by Britain and France, the road of negotiation was repudiated and steps to impose an arbitrary solution taken even at the risk of causing a war. Apart from this, it must be pointed out that Britain and France announced their arbitrary intention to occupy the canal without waiting for any action of the United Nations, thus blocking the work of the Security Council which had already been meeting to consider the matter and find a solution.

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THE world is now witnessing one of the most flagrant violation of the Charter in the post war period: the young Republic of Egypt has been attacked by three countries — Israel, Great Britain and France. Pursuing their selfish and expansionist interests, Israel, Britain and France started a war in the Near East and so endangered world peace. The reasons for this aggression are clear, and its consequences cannot be predicted at present.

The synchronized aggression against Egypt began with unexpected move of the Israeli army into Egyptian territory and its deep penetration towards the Suez Canal. This was immediately followed by a drastic Anglo-French ultimatum to the Nasser government, an ultimatum written in the language of force and threats that no independent country could accept without sacrificing its freedom and sovereignty. What took place afterwards surprised the world: bomber squadrons of the two countries, where phrases about democratic ideals are a commodity for export, began dropping their deadly cargoes on the towns of a country whose only „crime” was its consistence in the defence

„It is regrettable — and this may prove tragic — that now, when all governments should be making efforts to find peaceful solution to the existing problems, of which there is quite a number, new dangerous situations are being created only to exploit them for one's own purposes.

„If this aggression is not stopped by joint action of all United Nations member-states, it may have serious consequences for peace in that area and elsewhere in the world. Consequently, the world is justly expecting that the United Nations as a whole, and all its members individually, will bear in mind the essential interests of the international community, and that, condemning this aggression and threats, they will use all the measures at their disposal to prevent a war and so restore man's faith in the possibility of a lasting peace and cooperation between peoples”

THE STATEMENT BY THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT

The Yugoslav Government has issued the following statement on the Anglo-French attack on Egypt:

„The peoples and Government of Yugoslavia have received the news of the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt and of the brutal bombardments of Cairo with indignation and bitterness.

„On behalf of the Yugoslav people, the Yugoslav Government expresses its sympathies to the Egyptian people, the victims of aggression, and to their Government.

„The Yugoslav Government expects that all the peoples of the world, and their governments, will condemn the aggression and exert joint efforts to stop it immediately. With this aim in mind, the Yugoslav Government has instructed its delegate to the United Nations to request an emergency meeting of the General Assembly”.

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of its sovereign rights and independence.

All peoples of good will, who are for peace and who make efforts to make a repetition of the Second World War impossible, are aware of the background of this aggression: two large countries, whose responsibility and reputation in the world were great, repudiated, unjustly and arbitrarily, the efforts to settle a dispute in a peaceful way, and, neglecting the recommendations of the United Nations, resorted to the use of force which is impermissible and condemned in the present day world. Thus, these two countries not only disregarded their obligations as members of the United Nations, but also endangered the most vital interests of the international community.

The attitude of Britain and France in the Security Council, where, with their veto, they paralyzed its efforts to perform its chief task, i.e. to enforce peace in the world, only strengthened the conviction of the world public that the aggression in the Near East had been carefully planned. Although the British and French veto prevented the Security Council from undertaking urgent measures until the General Assembly

comes to consider the matter, the discussion of the Yugoslav proposals and the voting of the American resolution, which condemns the aggression and demands the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt, nonetheless showed that the Anglo-French-Israeli action encountered a moral condemnation throughout the world.

The United Nations has been put to a serious test. Aggression is taking place. It is now the duty of the United Nations, as well as of all countries in the world which consider peace to be the essential prerequisite for their better future, is to undertake effective

measures and stop the aggression in the Near East. This is not only the duty and obligation of the world organization towards a victim of aggression, but also the question of its very future role in international life. The Charter must not remain empty phrases on a piece of paper for anyone. What is endangered now are not only the independence and bare existence of a country which has been fulfilling its international obligations in a satisfactory way, but also the greatest values of humanity.

The peaceloving world sees no alternative: the aggression must be stopped.

YUGOSLAVIA AND US AID

Stojan KOVAČEVIĆ

AID as a form of economic assistance is a comparatively new phenomenon in international relations, although becoming a characteristic feature of contemporary development owing to its manifold effects and influence on international relations during the wartime and postwar period. However, as a form of cooperation between the economically developed and less developed countries, aid was not free of certain negative aspects under various circumstances, particularly when it was intended for the achievement of definite political aims as a rule detrimental to the recipient. The cold war period offers a series of examples in this respect which although eventually justifiable by the exceptional situation (threat of war etc.) had an adverse effect. Nonetheless they did not succeed in convincing world public opinion that aid must necessarily entail certain conditions.

It should be said at the same time that the idea of assistance to other countries on behalf of common interests both broader and concrete, without demanding the other side to sacrifice or jeopardise its own eventually still more important interests, became a new, extremely constructive and beneficial form of international cooperation both in the interest of the partners involved and the world at large. As to its concrete forms: bilateral or multilateral, or by means of international organizations, the United Nations or its specialised agencies for instance, they are all acceptable in principle, provided due attention is given to the above mentioned basic postulates. Generally speaking, broad agreement prevails on this issue today and will most probably remain so in the future, until the gap between the economically developed and under developed countries is bridged.

The action of UNICEF, technical assistance, various specialized agencies etc. a series of bilateral arrangements, all provide examples of beneficial cooperation on this plane which exerted and continue to exert a positive influence on international relations in general, and particularly on the relations between the countries

in question. The agreements concluded between the USA and Yugoslavia during the past few years belong to this kind of cooperation. The military aid proffered to Yugoslavia by USA was also based on mutual interest. The assistance programme to Yugoslavia was formerly of a tripartite character, the other partners being, besides the USA, Great Britain and France. The statements by the most competent Yugoslav authorities as well as the public opinion clearly show how highly this foreign aid was valued in this country. US aid was particularly esteemed in view of its long duration, large volume and varied assortment.

With the change of international situation, the wane of the cold war, certain aspects of the first type of international cooperation were largely deprived of their efficacy in view of the fact that they were conceived and intended for definite situations and that the improvement of the international climate only rendered them all the more inadequate hence necessitating their evolution and adaptation to the new situation, while at the same time preserving their principled basis and general orientation. In view of the friendly relations between the countries which cooperated on this plane, the evolution of the forms and methods of extending aid, needless to say, did not require any urgent action. It is generally considered that the continuance of such cooperation must be thoroughly re-examined with a view to establishing the common interests and new possibilities afforded and determining the ways and means of adapting assistance to the newly created conditions.

The need of an evolution and a review of ends and means, re-examination of limits and scope of interests in foreign aid policy, and especially its analysis in the light of the various complex aspects of these problems, is also confirmed by the studies made on the international and national plane by a number of states, including the USA, a country which plays a most prominent role in this respect. The fact that several investigating bodies consisting of the most distinguish-

hed government representatives as well as private business, scientific and other groups have been set up in the USA testifies to the significance of this problem for the national interests of the country as well as the importance assigned it within the context of international relations.

The Yugoslav attitude on this specific problem of international relations is sufficiently known to make further explanations superfluous. From the standpoint of promoting manifold international cooperation Yugoslavia welcomed and welcomes the idea of assistance to the insufficiently developed countries on the part of those developed. Yugoslavia endorses and continues to endorse the organization of aid through international bodies, or to be more precise through the United Nations organs, while by no means under-rating the broad prospects afforded by bilateral arrangements, nor precluding this form of cooperation under the present changed international conditions. However, in view of the newly created situation Yugoslavia considers that the previous forms of cooperation should also be reassessed. For instance, Yugoslavia considers that a concerted effort through the United Nations to provide systematic assistance to the economic development of the insufficiently developed parts of the world is more consonant to the changed conditions, and that all efforts and ever greater funds should gradually be concentrated for this purpose. Such concepts are not exclusively Yugoslav, having also appeared of late in countries where they were but reluctantly accepted so far. It is sufficient for instance to mention the attitude of the Democratic Presidential Candidate Adlai Stevenson who expressed himself in favour of channelling the greater part of foreign aid through the United Nations; that of the AFL-CIO Chairman Walter Reuther who proposed that the USA and USSR should set apart two percent of national income for the creation of a fund which would proffer systematic aid to the insufficiently developed countries; that of the US delegate to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge, a close associate of President Eisenhower, who also pronounced himself in favour of the reorientation of aid through the United Nations. These are not the only indications on the existence of new trends of thought in the US on this issue, although the latter were greatly dampened by President Eisenhower's statement that the US Government does not intend to channel aid through the United Nations. However, it would seem that this attitude was inspired rather by considerations of practical policy in view of this year's presidential elections than a definite attitude of US state policy. The French plan submitted by ex-Premier Faure at the 1955 four power conference in Geneva, as well as the French activity on the score since then, testify to the fact that this problem did not undergo an evolution in the USA only, but that it is also a subject of broader consideration and action almost throughout the world. Consequently the Yugoslav orientation in this respect becomes an integral part of a more or less universal tendency called forth by an objective need of the world today.

The specific problem of US-Yugoslav cooperation on this plane may be fairly complex but the Yugoslav attitude is nonetheless clear-cut. Moreover, this attitude is inspired by the wish to prolong, strengthen and create still better relations and cooperation with the USA in the economic sphere. Owing to the changed international conditions Yugoslavia contemplates the evolution of the forms and methods of cooperation as a guarantee precisely for such a further favourable and ever stronger development of friendly relations with the USA, whose international role is of such vast significance. USA was acquainted from the beginning with the Yugoslav views, and is likewise acquainted with the motives and actual intentions of the Yugoslav

government. Moreover, it seemed that the Yugoslav views were received with understanding on the American side, that a mutual reassessment of modes and forms of future cooperation would be successfully concluded in the future, and that new forms would be devised based on the genuine interests of both sides and the general improvement of international conditions.

In the interest of mutual favourable cooperation over a longer period Yugoslavia did not seem it expedient to react to certain pronouncements made on the US side, primarily statements by more or less responsible persons and of one part of the press. Yugoslavia likewise showed full understanding for the specific situation in the USA during the election campaign. Such an understanding was shown both by the Yugoslav press and public at large. There can be no doubt that the Yugoslav attitude was based on the firm conviction that the necessary conditions for the continuance and expansion of mutual cooperation exist and that a common denominator will be found enabling the determination of the new modes and methods. This view still prevails in Yugoslavia as shown by the statements of the responsible persons and the public.

Therefore the fact that the US government deemed it necessary to accompany its decision to continue the extension of aid to Yugoslavia by an explication, certain parts of which it is not possible to ignore all the more so as they also refer to the Yugoslav relations with some other countries, provoked considerable surprise. Apart from the difference in the assessment of the general development on the international plane between the two countries, which intrinsically is not and cannot be an obstacle to friendly cooperation, the appraisal given of Yugoslav-Soviet relations for example in President Eisenhower's statement on the continuance of aid to Yugoslavia, doubtless does not contribute to the consolidation of international conditions, and still less to the solution of concrete problems between the two countries. Therefore the statement by the Foreign Affairs Secretariat spokesman, on the subject correctly summed up the present situation, as well as the view of the Yugoslav government and people.

Such phenomena on the American side are not restricted to its relations with Yugoslavia only and particularly in the previous years represented a source of difficulties for the US in their relations with individual countries. In view of the complicated US political machinery and the special conditions which sometimes exert their influence on the Government, such phenomena are often devoid of any deeper significance and are also contemplated as such. However, they nonetheless hamper the efforts to chart a more stable course of foreign policy and sometimes lead to the awkward situation that the recipient countries who wish to express their gratitude find it difficult to do so. The significance of the USA in international relations and their own difficulties in the domestic and foreign sphere on the one hand, and the realization that the foundations of cooperation in all fields are essentially of a more durable nature and hence independent of the effects of such phenomena (although the latter may be detrimental), renders the devising of practical solutions which are essentially a far cry from the impression one might gain from the phenomena discussed, both feasible and necessary. The positive process in international relations is of an objective character, and progressing favourably in spite of all difficulties and delays. In this context fuller and more complete forms of cooperation in all fields are not only possible but also desirable, including the extension of assistance both on a bilateral and international basis, adjusted to the new situation and new conditions.

Fortnight in the world

POLAND ON A NEW ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT

K. TONČIĆ

THE Eighth Plenary meeting of the Polish United Workers' Party and its decisions sanctioned — as it is now generally believed — what had been placed before and since this meeting showed that it was both possible and necessary to embark upon the road outlined in its decision, the road which marked a turning point in the efforts to build up a really socialist society.

The development of the entire political, economic and social life of Poland in the last few years has, in spite of certain good results, been creating dangerous although suppressed dissatisfaction. The difficult economic conditions, further aggravated by Stalinist phraseology sheep propaganda and police pressure, together with unequal relations with the Soviet Union, caused explosions, such as that of Poznan which shook the very foundations of the country. The Poznan events were the last warning to the progressive forces in Poland, particularly the United Workers' Party, to exert the greatest possible efforts to repudiate the practices of Stalinism and so make a peaceful and free development of their country possible. The just interpretation of the warning later enabled the United Workers' Party to rally its ranks around the new leaders and the new policy, which were formally approved at the Eighth Plenary meeting of the Party. The unity of the Party in the policy of socialist democracy was the essential prerequisite for the formation of firm and increasingly broader links between the Party, the Government and the people. As Polish leaders themselves say, no government has ever been so closely linked with the people as the present — in these historical days when Poland's road of democratic and socialist development is being determined.

However, it is clear that the unity within the Party and its close links with the masses were forged only by the great, sincere and frank efforts of the leaders in condemning, not only the errors and crimes of the earlier governments, but also the roots of Stalinism which made such errors and crimes possible. The report which Vladyslav Gomulka submitted to plenum was a clear illustration of the efforts which were being made by the new leaders. This report, which had taken months to prepare, mercilessly exposed even the greatest „state secrets” that had earlier been known only to the inner circle of the Central Committee, the „secrets” which screened the truth about unequal relations imposed on Poland or about uncontrolled wasting of the national income and wealth. The frankness with which Vladyslav Gomulka spoke of the Polish reality called for immediate remedies, which the new leaders applied boldly, relying on the support of the masses.

The energy the new leaders displayed in rejecting all attempts at unprincipled compromises with representatives of the old conservative forces was enthusiastically acclaimed. This enthusiasm became a national movement when the new leaders displayed just as much energy and resoluteness in talks with the Soviet delegation which came to Warsaw suddenly during the Eighth Plenary meeting of the Party. As reported later, the new Polish leaders insisted in their talks with the Soviets on the necessity to reconsider the Polish — Soviet relations and to establish them on

the principles of complete equality and respect of one another's sovereignty. The unanimity of the Polish people — not only of Party members but of the entire population — in their support of Gomulka and the new government played a decisive role and so prevented the intended moves of Soviet troops which at that time might have produced a spark to ignite a larger conflagration. On the other hand, all demonstrations in the country, including those which demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, were stopped by an appeal from the Government, and no administrative or police measures proved necessary because the masses had faith in the Government which insisted on there-examination of the question of these troops as one of the essential elements in establishing really equal relations.

The fact that the new Polish leaders were consistent in their efforts to democratize the country's life, has had great influence on the constructive action of broad sections of the workers and peasants. In factories workers' managing organs are now being elected, and in towns and villages undesirable or unsuitable leaders are being replaced in a democratic way, and the system of local government itself is often being modified. The creative forces of the people are discovering new, Polish forms and methods of socialist development.

„The roads of socialist development”, says a resolution passed at the Eighth Plenary meeting of the United Workers' Party, „must be different in different countries and under different historical conditions”. Now all are aware that the change affected in Poland was one of the most striking manifestations of the value and strength of socialism. This change and choice of a really socialist road of development, as made by the leaders in Warsaw, will ensure Poland's peaceful development in the future. Any other road would have brought numerous dangers, not only to Poland, but also to Europe as a whole. The developments in Poland showed that socialism can overcome all its problems, difficulties and even serious crises if the socialist forces oppose — frankly and mercilessly — all attempts of deviation from the real socialist and democratic roads.



THE SAAR AGREEMENT

AFTER years of negotiations, a Franco German Agreement on the Saar was finally concluded on October 27. Under this Agreement, which was signed for France by Pineau, and for the Federal German Republic by von Brentano, the Constitution of the Federal Republic will come into force in the Saar on January 1, 1957, and, with certain economic and legal restrictions, the region will become a component part of the Federal Republic.

The signing of the Saar Agreement ended, not only one stage of Franco — German relations, but also a definite period in the development of Western Germany and her aspirations. That this is true was best shown by the reaction of the German public particularly political groups, to the conclusion of the Agreement.

It was not so long ago that the Federal Republic thought that its first objective was not to let the inclusion of the Saar into the French economy be proclaimed as a „final solution“. It seems strange today that only five years ago Bonn considered the promise of the French government that the „future of the Saar would be settled by the peace treaty with Germany“ for its outstanding success. At that time the situation in the Saar was quite different. Pro-German parties were banned and the socialist sought a kind of „European solution“ to the Saar problem. Now that the Saar Agreement has been signed, the West German papers do not rejoice with the fact that Saar is

becoming a part of Germany, but attack the government for having „overpaid for the incontestable German right to the region“.

The reaction of the West German politicians to the Saar Agreement gives ample food for thought, and, as the Paris paper, *Le Monde*, recently wrote, gives rise to „unpleasant associations“, alluding most probably to the fact that one of the first steps of the Third Reich was to seize the Saar and incorporate it in Germany. In connection with this, many East European commentators, discussing the conclusion of the Saar Agreement, criticize the French Socialist Government. They maintain that the signing of the Agreement is only „one part of the Guy Mollet Government's anti-French policy“. To illustrate this, the Radio Prague commentator quotes a number of accounts — given earlier by Western journalists and observers — of what happened during last year's elections in the Saar. As is known, many Nazi, anti-democratic and great-German groups were active then, and they played a definite role in the whole course of the elections. „And that“, says the Prague commentator, „was only the beginning“.

Regardless of such tendencies and comments, the fact is that the signing of the Saar Agreement will alleviate one of the contradictions which had been responsible for the sharpening of relations between France and Western Germany.

Our views

GERMAN BAROMETERS

S. ERLICH

IN spite of the complex events in Europe and in the world, the citizens of the Federal German Republic — the ordinary Germans, as it is usually said — were following the reports about the Oktoberfest with the greatest possible interest. Will everything be as expected? Will the Oktoberfest this year be greater than in previous years, including that of 1933, when the Hitlerites, who were consolidating their power then, spent so much on the organization of this traditional German feast? These questions attracted more attention than, let us say, the Security Council debate on the Suez crisis or the situation in Algeria. Munich's Oktoberfest, just like the February carnival throughout Germany, is not only a large scale and lavish celebration, but also a kind of barometer which shows the feelings of the Germans. Even the first post-war revivals of the feast showed that German reconstruction was progressing surely and satisfactorily. Figures showing that millions of barrels of beer and thousand of tons of sausages have been consumed and billion of marks spent illustrate to ordinary Germans the prosperity of the Federal Republic better than any report compiled by Minister Erhard. These barometers reveal, ever more openly, that great wealth has been created and that there are forces which feel suppressed by the imposed state boundaries. It was, therefore, not accidental that at last year's carnival celebrations there were groups which represented not only Eastern Germany, but also the Sude-

tenland, Memel and even the German national minorities from the far off regions of Hungary and Rumania.

Politicians, however, had and still have other worries to occupy them — all of which are, in one way or another, connected with the future elections. They take advantage of even the most insignificant events to put up and assert their views and the attitudes of their parties. One of the most controversial questions at present is the problem of armed forces and armaments. Among other reasons, this is also due to the fact that remilitarization is not yet quite popular among the masses, particularly not among the workers, although a wrong impression might be created by the haste with which the Government approaches and tackles the problem. In the Bundestag lately, the members of the opposition parties have been sharply attacking the Government's policy of armaments, exploiting fully the so-called affair with American jet aircraft. For, following instruction from the Government, the Ministry of Defence had ordered 226 American F86 „Sabre“ jet aircraft. The Government and the Ministry of Defence had their reasons for ordering these aircraft in a hurry, although they were aware that, in view of the perspective development of the German air force, this type of aircraft is already obsolete. The opposition, taking advantage of the opinions given by experts to this effect, accuse the Ministry of Defence for wasting hundreds of millions

of dollars for purchases of „scrap iron”, maintaining that for the same money they could have bought an equal number of British „Javelin” jets, whose advantages over the F86 aircraft are generally recognized.

A considerable number of politicians insist that no haste should be resorted to in armaments. If, they say, we had started to rearm as soon as we acquired the right to do so some years ago, we would by now have spent billions of dollars on „scrap iron”. Every month that passes is a net gain, because our army must be equipped with up-to-date armaments. If we equip it today, its armaments will become obsolete tomorrow. We must, therefore, wait until the last possible moment. The money thus saved goes into our industries which are getting ready to supply — when the necessity arises — our army with modern, German armaments. The ordinary German backs up this view, particularly now that the Department of Defence has been taken over by Strauss, the „atomic” Minister, because his appointment was taken to mean that the new German army will progressively switch over to atomic strategy.

However, the Government and the ruling circles now oppose this view, although they are aware that it is very popular and that last year they had to cancel a number of orders of American arms. Reasons for this are numerous, but the most important is, allegedly, the development of the international, particularly European situation. The Berlin riots in June 1953, they say, were a clear warning. They found the Federal Republic wholly unprepared: tanks rolled in German streets, and we in Federal Republic sat by our radios and waited. Then came Poznan, and soon after the Warsaw events. And now, there is a civil war and foreign intervention in Hungary. Who knows what may happen in the „zone” and in East Berlin tomorrow. Does not all this show that the Government is right in trying to build up our army as quickly as possible and to arm it even with obsolescent aircraft and napalm instead of atomic bombs. There are, of course, few politicians who defend this view as openly as this, but the fact is that the „ordinary German” follows, in his own peculiar way, the events which now

shake Eastern Europe, expecting that they will spread also to the „zone” — the Democratic Republic of Germany.

In order to speed up such developments, a meeting of the Bundestag was recently held in Berlin. On the basis of the results achieved at this demonstrative meeting, some members of the government parties proposed that Berlin should be proclaimed the capital of the Federal Republic. Further, they proposed that the construction of a new House of Parliament in Berlin should be started immediately. „We must”, they said, „be near the centre of action and all — German efforts. Berlin has been and remains the capital city of Germany, and that means of the Federal Republic because the Federal Republic is Germany”. Jurists came forward with arguments to contradict the view of the Four Great Powers (which had been supported also by the Federal Government) that legally Berlin was not part of either Western or Eastern Germany but of a nonexistent, but promised, united Germany. Symbolically, Berlin is still ruled by the military commands of the Four Great Powers, and deputies to the Bonn Bundestag elected in West Berlin enjoy only a consultative vote. But, Berlin is divided into two sections — Western and Eastern, the latter being the seat of the government of the Democratic Republic.

If this proposal is accepted Berlin will become a unique city in the world: it will be the capital of two states — Western and Eastern Germany. Many politicians in Bonn, particularly the supporters of the proposed transfer of the government to Berlin, display a strange kind of optimism and defend the view that this transfer of the government to the largest town in Germany plays its role and help to turn Berlin into an all — German town — the united town of a united Germany. „We”, they say, „make efforts in this direction, and, therefore, our hopes are not mere wishes, but expectations based on realistic possibilities of future developments, for which we are preparing, not only politically — by proposing the construction of a new House of Parliament — but also generally.



Opinions on the current problems

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Dr. Franc KOS

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY IN THE SECRETARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A general survey of the present international situation could easily create the impression that this years Eleventh United Nations General Assembly will not be inaugurated under most favourable auspices. However a deeper analysis would show that the general tendency towards the relaxation of tension and gradual pacification is only temporarily overcast by ominous shadows and that the course of international developments is directed toward pacification and the creation of better conditions for concord between nations, primarily the solution of controversial issues by peaceful means and negotiations. Such an estimate is also vouchsafed by the fact that the nature and origin of the present conflicts is not the same as in the period of tension and cold war. The present issues have emerged into the foreground precisely because of the abatement of tension which affords better prospects of solution under more stable international conditions. It is entirely natural that the role of the United Nations has been greatly enhanced in the present international climate and that the universal conviction prevails that it is possible to settle international disputes within the UN. The United Nations have successfully overcome the first phase of their existence, when they were used primarily as a propaganda platform for the advancement of demagogical proposals totally devoid of solid substance, when as a rule it was known in advance that these proposals would be rejected by the other side. The United Nations have also already transcended the second phase of their development which marked the transitional stage in the relaxation of tension when the tendency prevailed to deal with the unsolved problems outside of and without the United Nations, owing to the alleged inefficiency and weakness of this organisation. Such a treatment of international issues could not lead to any major results and it is therefore far from accidental that many of these problems have again been placed before the United Nations. Of late we have even been witnesses of new phenomena, namely various problems are being submitted to the United Nations precisely because it was not possible to find adequate solutions outside of this organisation for them (mediation in Palestine, the Suez, etc.) so that the United Nations have become to an ever greater extent an actual necessity, and a reliable and important international instrument which inspires confidence that it is possible to devise ways and means or at least approaches towards the solution of controversial issues within the framework of this organisation.

In point of fact, the role currently assumed by the United Nations was envisioned already at the very beginning, as stated in the Charter, that the organisation must be a guardian of world peace and strive by all means to create such conditions which would eliminate the sources of conflict and thus contribute to the consolidation of peace. This by no means implies that we wish to overestimate the real possibilities and strength of the United Nations, nor that we underestimate the actual state of affairs in international relations. We only wish to emphasise the fact that the recommen-

dations and resolutions of the United Nations provide a valuable indicator to the only road which can lead to compromise solutions. Hence United Nations recommendations are not devoid of all significance or invested with a general character, but contain the germs of future solutions, as it would be an illusion to believe that they alone can lead to lasting solutions. The increased role of the United Nations in the previous period enhances the significance and responsibility of the forthcoming Eleventh General Assembly. During the past few years each Assembly session was always more important than its predecessors which testifies to the fact that this organization is fulfilling its role with ever greater success and that the wish for peaceful international cooperation is steadily growing throughout the world. Some problems have either been resolved already or are nearing a final settlement, the rapprochement of views achieved affords far brighter prospects of resolving others, while the general tendency prevails to approach the final settlement of yet other issues.

The establishment of the new International Atomic Agency should certainly be mentioned among the successes achieved in this respect, as the United Nations have succeeded during the past few years in channelling the different tendencies and aspirations towards compromise solution which although far from ideal, essentially coincides with the present level of development of the individual countries in the domain of peaceful application of nuclear energy. The most important forthcoming tasks of the United Nations as well as the Agency itself consists in setting up such relations between the Agency and the United Nations which will enable the further development of the peaceful application of atomic energy to remain in the hands of the United Nations. Only the United Nations are capable of discerning all aspects of the problem (political, etc.) and only the United Nations can guarantee that progress in this field will enable the gap between the highly developed and economically underdeveloped countries to be narrowed. Here lies the special responsibility of the United Nations and the significance of its links with the newly created Agency.

There are also problems which could be resolved as the differences of view are now much smaller or have been reduced to a few still unsettled details. Disarmament on whose solution so many hopes are pinned throughout the world certainly heads the list of these problems. The Yugoslav delegation called attention to some possibilities of resolving in this problem, not on a global plane, but at least partially, without conditioning anything on the previous settlement of other problems, or by the gradual solution of the whole problem in a way which would enable first the easier and later the more difficult and complex issues to be regulated. There are genuine possibilities for partial and initial agreements, but insistence on smaller differences shows that this has now become a political problem which should also be contemplated in this light. The absence of mutual confidence prevents a further rapprochement of views and does

not permit some people to abandon the linking up and conditioning disarmament issues. Just as they were capable so far of indicating the lines along which the quest for further solution should develop, the United Nations could now, primarily at the request of the smaller countries, indicate the way in which some concrete problems could be brought nearer to a solution. In this way the United Nations could resolutely assume the initiative especially in problems where it is most qualified to be engaged actively, thus doubtless acquiring still greater support of world public opinion.

The economic development of the insufficiently developed countries which is long since a point on the agenda of the United Nations, provides an example in which the general tendencies towards the solution of this problem within the framework of an economic development fund have transcended the phase in which this problem is currently being dealt with before the United Nations. The phase of expert study should now be replaced by the implementation of practical steps for the creation of this fund (SUNFED). The creation of such a fund has been accepted as a necessity in the world of today, as testified by the proposals advanced by some countries (as Canada and France for instance) for the setting up of some similar institutions but on a competitive basis. The establishment of SUNFED is also endorsed by some of the organisations, primarily trade unions, as well as many political parties and individuals. The economic arguments in favour of SUNFED have actually been adopted on all sides (although from different standpoints) so that today the way to their realization is exclusively hampered by political considerations of the individual countries, primarily the big powers. The realization of this lofty aim and the solution of similar problems could have a positive influence towards the rapprochement of opposing views and the settlement of disputes. The problem of the less developed countries gained particular prominence with the advent of the young, recently liberated independent states which are entirely justified in claiming that the impediment of their development could easily become a focal point of potential conflicts and disturbances. The appearance of these new states and their urgent problems on the international stage invested the United Nations with a specific imprint of an international organization which is responsible and qualified to study and deal with the new problems. The newly independent states lay great trust in the United Nations, seek their co-operation and expect that they will approach the solution of their vital problems with the greatest authority and responsibility.

It seems that some other problems which will be subsequently placed on the agenda of this year's session (Algeria, Cyprus and others) could allegedly cast an ominous shadow over the setting and result in the aggravation of international relations and the general international climate. However if these problems

are contemplated in their essence, it must be noted they actually do not represent any novelty whatever in United Nations practice.

These problems are actually a product of the post war period with its specific new phenomena which should be discussed and dealt with in the United Nations. They have also acquired their own specific terminology in the United Nations. The right to self-determination, the sovereign rights of independent countries, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, which constitute the essence of all these problems, are by no means new in the United Nations and have been the subject of extensive debates so that ideas are clarified and the attitude of the individual parties on these scores clearly defined. In principle all countries have recognised the right to self-determination, the difference only exists in the approach to the solution of these problems. The recommendations of the United Nations for direct talks on a principled platform could also mean a step further in the solution of these disputes and would doubtless contribute to international pacification, provided the mutual wish to negotiate and goodwill exists and that all measures and actions resembling threats or pressure have been rejected. The United Nations will have the opportunity to elucidate these problems and, by constructive debate, trace the most expedient road towards their solution, thus alleviating the dangerous tension in this context and creating the necessary conditions for a peaceful and objective analysis of their final and peaceful solution.

Some social problems dating from cold war period will reappear at this year's session. It is evident that they must seem insoluble if contemplated in the light of the old treatment accorded them. However, irrespective of the way in which they are dealt with, it is no less a fact that these problems exist and that they require a solution. The United Nations can also enable these problems to be approached from a different aspect, which would not only deprive these issues of their acute character, but would also reveal the practical possibilities for the devising of such solutions which would be generally acceptable.

The Yugoslav delegation to the forthcoming General Assembly will strive to give its maximum contribution to the peaceful solution of all these problems by means of negotiation in the spirit of the peace loving policy of their country and in accordance with the efforts of their government towards the consolidation of peace. The activities of Yugoslavia in the United Nations so far testify to the conviction of this country in the ever greater significance of the United Nations and its confidence in this world organisation which should truly reflect the contemporary tendencies in the world as a universal international forum where international problems will be discussed on the basis of the sovereign equality of all members of the organisation and in the interest of world peace and progress.

POSITIVE PROSPECTS

Dr. J. ARNEJC

THE International Conference for the setting up of an Agency for atomic energy under the aegis of the United Nations, which was in session in New York for over a month, has concluded its work with the adoption of the statute of the new Agency. As was to be expected, no essential changes were made in the Statute during the conference, and so the Agency retains its original character. It will depend on the future work of the Agency how the clauses of the Statute will be applied in practice and it will then be possible to establish whether the fears of indi-

vidual countries as regards definite clauses of the Statute were justified or not.

The main characteristic of the conference was that it evolved in an atmosphere of harmony and co-operation especially between the great powers in the atomic field. This again confirmed the thesis that agreements on concrete international problems are possible and that relations among the nations of the world are nevertheless moving in the direction of international understanding and regulation of the general situation. New alterations in the Statute show

that conditions in industrially underdeveloped countries were borne in mind as these countries expect much from atomic energy for speeding-up their development. Another important clause specifies that the Agency will have the task of distributing, although to a limited extent, the nuclear fuels, which would be distributed through it among the member-countries. This is in keeping with the concept according to which the Agency might be an intermediary in giving assistance or even itself extend the needed financial means for the realization of atomic projects in underdeveloped countries. Such and similar improvements in the original text of the Agency Statute, are opening far broader opportunities for its work, so that it might serve more — efficaciously in the advancement of the peaceful use of atomic energy. This task might be fulfilled by the Agency despite some not quite democratic clauses regarding the question of composition of the Council of Governors as well as regarding the question of competences and relations between the General Conference of the Agency and the Council of Governors. In view of the existing differences in the field of atomic energy achievements in individual countries, the great powers were successful in resisting all efforts to limit their role, which found expression in the text of the Statute. Assurances of these powers which promised to continue such cooperation as was reached at the conference and take an active part in the work of the Agency, constitute some compensation for the concessions made by other countries.

The only outstanding question is that of the relations between the Agency and the United Nations. It depends on both the Agency and United Nations. The Agency's duty to submit reports to the United Nations is only one aspect of these relations. Wider and more important relations have yet to be determined later on. What is involved here is an agency with new and quite specific problems which are so significant for the whole of mankind that the United Nations is called upon to watch its work and watch vigilantly. Hence the question of fixing these relations is no less important than the question of what body in the United Nations is to deal with this complex. The problems which the Agency raises concerns all the Committees of the General Assembly and fall under the competence of individual councils. In view of this diversity of problems, the General Assembly — as the most authoritative organ of the United Nations — might perhaps take this matter in its own competence. The further development of science, the practical application and use of the new achievements as well as the activity of the Agency will justify the thesis

according to which the General Assembly should create its own special Committee for Atomic Energy. The activities of the Agency would not be reduced by the wide competences of the General Assembly nor would its authority be damaged, as the General Assembly would only give recommendations. The United Nations would pursue only a general policy in the atomic field, taking into account the needs of all the countries with a special accent on the economic and industrial development of the backward countries. The spirit of harmony and cooperation which has existed so far at all the international conferences on the question of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, will also help to find a solution for this still outstanding question, a solution which would be an expression of efforts to broaden cooperation and which would reflect the important role of the United Nations in the field of atomic energy.

The agreement on the creation of a new Agency for atomic energy has already shown its first results. The President of the USA who first gave the initiative for the creation of the Agency, has come forward with a new proposal. With his offer of a large quantity of nuclear fuels (5,000 kilograms) he has enabled the Agency to take steps for atomic research and the realization of energy programmes without delay. Other countries have also announced their readiness to make contributions, so that the Agency might make a good start and affirm itself in the very first years of its activity. These special materials are given with the exclusive notification that they may be used only for peaceful purposes, for the welfare and prosperity of the people in a period when the „intensity of atom's destructive force has again been greatly increased". This offer, made at the time of important world events, attracted less attention than it deserved. It provides for initial activities of the Agency and enables the Agency to „encourage scientific work and research so as to expediate the arrival of the long-awaited day" of the use of atomic power for energy purposes, especially in those countries which have not been able to conduct research on their own.

The new International Agency for atomic energy might contribute to the development of international cooperation in the framework of its activity, to the spreading of knowledge about atomic energy in the application of atomic energy for industrial, agricultural and other purposes. The success of the recently concluded international conference in New York should be greeted.

THE SUEZ CANAL USERS ASSOCIATION

L. ERVEN

THE Suez Canal Users Association was established at a meeting of representatives of fifteen countries (of the eighteen participants in the London Conference on the Suez) held in the beginning of October in London, on the eve of the Security Council session. This association was conceived and its creation decided in principle at the Second London Conference under entirely different conditions than those created later on when its concrete formation was initiated. Owing to the changes that occurred in the development of the Suez dispute, this association was actually created when the theses on which it was based no longer existed.

The fundamental change in these theses was brought about by the sudden decision of Great Britain and France to submit the Suez dispute to the Security Council. In the new situation, which placed the Suez problem outside the jurisdiction of the London conference and Canal users, the founders of this as-

sociation hastened with its creation, in the hope that it will play a prominent role in the solution of this problem. Therefore the association was also urgently founded in the interval between the convocation of the Security Council and its session. However in spite of all, the Association of Canal Users remained outside the debate in the Security Council, and was by-passed by the respective resolution and hence also by the actual events.

This might lead to the conclusion that its career was over. However press reports show that work on its organization is nonetheless continuing albeit slowly and not very smoothly. There are considerable differences of view on some organizational and financial problems between Great Britain and France on the one hand and the USA on the other, but it is important that the idea has not yet been abandoned. The question arises, what is the actual purpose and status of the Association in this phase of the Suez problem?

the quiet liquidation of the hasty Anglo-French action contemplated, on the other.

In fact this association which was at first accepted by a general lack of enthusiasm even by its founders as nobody was convinced that it is really profitable and necessary, represents an interesting episode in the history of the Suez problem, a diversion in the Suez dispute which aimed at curbing the Anglo-French plans of resolute measures and international pressure against the Egyptian government. On the one hand the users association was to conceal the obvious failure of the first London Conference, and dilute the issue towards the quiet liquidation of the hasty Anglo-French action contemplated, on the other.

The first London Conference of eighteen countries chosen according to the criteria of the organisers was convoked by France and Great Britain with the consent, if not at the suggestion of the USA for the purpose of condemning and repudiating the act of the Egyptian government by which it nationalized the Suez Company, and deliberate on the establishment of international management over the Suez Canal. This conference was envisioned as a competent international status of Suez traffic. They considered that their interest in the matter automatically qualified them to decide on the future regime governing passage through the Suez. Egypt was also invited to the conference, but the organizers did not consider her participation indispensable. Egypt was only to have been notified of the decisions reached at the conference. In case Egypt failed to agree with the decisions reached the latter would be carried out nonetheless, in spite of the Egyptian rejection. Great Britain and France were ready to ensure the authority of these decisions by appropriate measures as demonstrated by the implementation of several preparatory military measures.

Such was the plan underlying the convocation of the first London conference, but this project was not implemented there. Such an energetic attitude failed to win the support of the other participants. Although agreeing with the Anglo-French attitude concerning the international management of the Suez Canal, the conference did not agree with the Anglo-French methods of bringing this about. Although formulating the idea on the establishment of an international body for the management of the Suez Canal, with the co-operation of Egypt, on the levying of tolls and management of income, with the proportionate participation of Egypt in the profits conference was opposed to the implementation of forcible measures against Egypt, against the peremptory imposing of decisions, as such measures would be tantamount to a breach of the peace and advocated a conciliatory course and negotiation, therefore authorizing a narrower committee headed by the Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs to transmit the decisions of the conference to the Egyptian Government, while reserving the right to deliberate subsequently in case the Egyptian Government refuses to accept these decisions.

Among the participants at the first London conference who were opposed to the energetic measures proposed by Britain and France, the USA played a decisive part, as the attitude of the majority of Western participants depended on the attitude of the USA. This attitude was conciliatory and pacific by contrast to the British and French conviction that only resolute action could force Egypt to yield. The moderating influence of the USA on the Anglo-French determination to deal resolutely continued also during the subsequent development of the Suez controversy and during the debate in the Security Council. Therefore, the impression prevailed among the British and French public, including also responsible political leaders, that the US attitude was one of the main reasons for the breakdown of the Anglo-French thesis on the Suez.

After the failure of the Menzies' mission to Cairo where the decisions of the London conference were rejected, another London conference convened in order to deliberate on further action. The dilemma was really serious. Egypt had rejected the basis proposed by the London conference for the solution of the Suez problem and the conference was not inclined to force her to accept this basis. It was then that the US Fore-

ign Secretary put forward the proposal to establish a Suez Canal Users Association.

For the majority of participants in the London conference this proposal represented a happy solution of a difficult situation and saved the prestige of the conference but for Great Britain and France it appeared as a manoeuvre with the objective of thwarting their plans of resolute action against Nasser. The Anglo-French side raised the objection that this proposal invested the future association with the character of a „good offices” body in the settlement of the Suez dispute rather than an international body entrusted with the management of the Suez canal, while entitling the Canal users to decide for themselves whether they will pay the canal tolls to the association or not. This voluntary character of paying tolls deprived the entire scheme of all practical value and distorted the Anglo-French plan of action. It is probably for this reason that after the second London Conference the two big powers abandoned the procedure of conferring with 18 and 15 states and demanded the convocation of the Security Council without consulting anyone.

The transfer of action from the circle of countries concerned to the Security Council marked the beginning of an entirely new phase in the Suez issue altogether independent of the consultations at the London conference and the decisions brought at these consultations. Egypt, Great Britain and France as the parties concerned took part in this action, while the Council concentrated its efforts to bring about an acceptable basis for the settlement of the dispute, by harmonizing their views in a compromise formula and thus laying the foundations for a negotiated solution of the Suez dispute. The definite form and substance of this solution will be determined by subsequent negotiations, first between the parties concerned and later on probably with the participation of a broader international forum. Neither the London Conference nor the Suez Canal Users Association were represented before the Security Council. It could therefore have been reasonably assumed that all previous efforts made by one party to the dispute before applying to the Security Council, and hence also attempt to introduce the Users Association into the Council proceedings were eliminated and became irrelevant.

As for the association itself whose organization is continuing in spite of these facts, its tasks have been but vaguely formulated. It should „facilitate all measures” which would refer to a lasting or temporary solution of the Suez problem, and assist its members in the exercise of their rights as users of the Suez Canal in accordance with the provisions of the Constantinople Convention and with due respect of the Egyptian rights. It should likewise assist the maintenance of security, and the smooth and economic functioning of traffic for all ships of the association member countries and seek the cooperation of Egyptian authorities for this purpose. It will also set its services at the disposal of non-members if requested to do so, and receive tolls and other payments for traffic and services, which the members „may” pay to it and manage the distribution of these receipts. Apart from this, the association will supervise the conditions in the Canal, inform its members of the weaknesses in the navigation service, and seek ways of improving the latter. Finally it will assist the implementation of the temporary solutions of the Suez problem which could be decided by the United Nations.

Such a formulation of duties makes it really difficult to determine the juridical complexion and category to which such an association would belong.

Is it an international organization of a certain number of states which agreed to contribute in the usual way by means of common efforts and through joint organs to the maintenance and smooth functioning of an international water way, as might be inferred from some points? If the association is such an organization then it is difficult to understand, how this organization imagines that it will extend concrete services in navigation through the Suez Canal to its members and other countries, while also levying tolls for the extension of these services? In order to be able to discharge

such a service it would have to organise an entire navigation service ensure the supply of ships, provide navigation schedules, piloting service, etc.

With such functions, the association would no longer be an international organization but an international company for Suez navigation. However even if the difficulties involved by the implementation of its services in the Suez Canal contrary to the Egyptian wish as a sovereign state, and contrary to the already existing navigation regime were ignored, its establishment would represent a violation of Art. 12 of the Constantinople Convention, which explicitly stipulates that no contracting party is entitled to seek any privileges whatever in international agreements referring to the Suez Canal. The organization of a special navigation service in the Suez Canal and the levying of tolls for this service doubtless represents a privilege.

In fact, this concept of the Suez Canal Users Association, invested both with the complex tasks of an international organization and business objectives of a transport company, is a result of the compromise between two conflicting theses manifested at the London conference, one that it is useless to negotiate with Egypt, and the other, that it is necessary to organize international management over the canal. This being a compromise formula neither thesis was wholly accepted only certain postulates of both. It is a shortcoming of this compromise that it does not represent a middle course, but an artificial combination of two altogether incompatible theses.

Different intentions and hopes were pinned on this

association during its creation. A certain number of members assumed that they will be invited or allowed to take part in determining the new international navigation regime either in negotiations with Egypt or the implementation of United Nations decisions. It was also believed that the Association would decide to assume the forwarding of ships through the Suez Canal. This one sided interference with navigation would represent a challenge to Egypt, which would either have to allow passage through the Canal to the Association and thus give in, or prohibit their passage and thus violate the principle of free passage. Finally, a few members expected that in case of failure to organize its navigation service in the Canal, the association will divert (with the financial assistance of the USA) navigation round the Cape of Good Hope for its members, thus boycotting the Canal (which was explicitly forbidden by the Constantinople Convention) and exerting pressure on Egypt. If the latter alternative were adopted the Suez Canal Users Association would actually be come an association for the disuse of the Canal.

The Security Council however has channelled the Suez problem towards direct negotiations between the parties concerned. This decision actually deprived the users association of all purpose. Its creation was therefore revealed as a delayed measure of a procedure long since abandoned. It is therefore no wonder that its establishment is proceeding without enthusiasm, more or less according to the law of inertia, as something begun which no one wishes to stop, although everybody is equally convinced of its futility.

THE ARAB WORLD

P. JEVREMOVIC

If it can be said that in the post-war constellation, Europe and Asia have been in turn the epicentres of world tension, then it would be true to say that throughout this period the Arab world never found itself beyond the reach of fateful events. Moreover, the last few months have shown that the danger threatening world peace has cast its shadow particularly over the area inhabited by the Arab peoples. This is not an accident. The Arab world occupies a geographical region at the point of world crossroads, where two continents meet — a region surrounded by several seas. It is quite understandable, therefore, why this geographical area should be of first class strategic significance. It is an attractive object for various political and military schemes of the great powers. To this we should add the economic significance of the soil, rich in inexhaustible oil wells, whose economic and military significance finds the fullest expression precisely in the current century.

The stormy history which saw the clashing of interests of the great powers in the struggle for spheres of interest or their expansion, left each Arab country a heritage of different problems, and to all of them a complex of unclear and unsettled questions and relations. The awakening of strong national consciousness throughout this area with regular ebbs and flows, differences in intensity, rate and immediate aims, created a situation in which new manifestations began to press against the old frames — already disavowed, once and for all, by historical developments. The forms of struggle for new adequate solutions that would meet the national claims of the Arab world, differ according to the political groups which engage in them as well as according to the countries in which they evolve. The unity of action was not realized although a suitable machinery — the Arab League — had been formed. Numerous definitions about common ideals and struggles for the same goals proved too feeble to overcome the powerful contradictions which these countries inherited from their former development in

the shadow of the struggle of the great powers for spheres of influence and exploitation. Thus the Arab League became in a certain definite period, the synonym for absence of energetic action and almost a symbol of internal wrangles between member-countries. At one moment, when Mosadeq proclaimed the nationalization of the British Oil Company in Iran, and when the struggle against exploitation of the biggest Arab oil wells by a great power, was reaching its climax, this was expected to provide an important stimulant for the coordination of attitudes of the Arab countries. However, no significant results were achieved on this plane. Nonetheless, a certain solidarity (often unofficial in form) showed already at that time that something of the kind could really be created one day. It turned out that the rapprochement between Arab countries was an affair of the Arabs themselves but that the actions of great powers would also be of great significance in this regard, namely, it is well-known that a stone, when smitten, must give out a spark.

After the Abadan events, the great powers took a series of measures to ensure that nothing of this kind should happen again. This activity was almost always actuated by two motives. The first was either to be strengthened or „protected”, while the second belonged to the sphere of common, political, military or economic bloc concepts. It must not be lost sight of this point, that contrasts and different interests of these countries also played a part in this framework. In any case what was involved here was intensification of the struggle in this area where the powers, thanks primarily to their military or economic force, had taken definite positions against the will and interests of the Arab world. Such attempts as the setting up of the Bagdad Pact — intended to secure influence in this area — should also be viewed from this angle.

The opposition to the Bagdad Pact meant not

only a stand against definite military and other combinations in this area but also provided a suitable platform for the grouping of those Arab countries of forces in the Arab countries which are prepared, in the interests of their basic national aspirations, to relegate for the time being all that might separate them. Of special significance in this regard was the transformation of Egypt from a semi colonial country without its own foreign policy into a strong, independent state which consistently strives for the realization of its basic national rights.

Until that historical moment when a new and nascent Egypt appeared on the political arena, no Arab country had objective chances of becoming the leading force in relations between the Arab world and the great powers, not even conditionally. If the Bagdad Pact, propped and maintained by means of political and military narcosis, remained only an alien mechanism on the Arab soil, although named after the capital of an Arab country, one could not deny that it has led to a process of polarization in the Arab world which need not be definitive, but which actually existed at one moment. At the same time, this led to a politically, as well as historically, important phenomenon expressed in the outlining of a group of Arab countries around Egypt, one of whose imminent characteristics is struggle for the sovereign rights of Arab countries and against foreign influences. It is not the question here of the creation of a bloc but solely of the grouping of countries linked by the same fate and the same aspirations on the regional principle and in keeping with the letter and spirit of the UN Charter.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal, which met with an unexpectedly unrealistic reaction on the part of Great Britain and France, at least at the beginning, expressed in measures of military pressure, meant not only the continuation but also a considerable intensification of the potential conflict and contradictions between the Arab world and the world of great powers. Egypt's assent and wish to harmonize this sovereign act with the interests of the international community for free navigation through the Suez Canal, gave its attitude both a moral and political argument. The support given to Egypt by the Arab countries, above all the unreserved support of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan but also that which, although given with many reservations, came from the midst of the Bagdad Pact itself, from Iraq and Iran (and beheld with consternation by the inspirers of this body consisted a new rapprochement of the Arab world in the struggle against bloc policy and its manifestations. Precisely for this reason, regardless of all other aspects of the Suez dispute, this strengthening of Arab unity is a fact which will not be without significance for the further developments in this area.



Certainly, when the Arab world is in question, one could not isolate the whole complex of problems connected with these countries' relations with Israel. This, without doubt, makes a separate chapter with a series of specific characteristic but also a complex connected with either yesterday's or today's policy of the great powers in this area. That is why the relations between the Arab world and Israel are incorporated into this general aspect of their relations with the great powers. Hence certain moves of the Arab countries, resulting from the current situation in that conflict, should not be viewed only from that angle, but also from a wider aspect of relations with the great powers. Recent events around Jordan when the Iraqi troops were prepared to march into that country with the object of extending „aid“ which may have been inspired by different motives — are in any case a confirmation of this. Hence the military alliance between Egypt, Syria and Jordan, envisaging that any attack on one of these countries would be considered as an attack on all three of them, has a wider significance than a momentary military need.

If it is true that the intensification of the pressures brought to bear on the Arab countries by the great powers also contributes to the process of unification of the Arab world, then one should not neglect the duel which the Northern African countries are having with France and which is leading to the same repercussions. The support given by Morocco and Tunisia to the Algerians, and the possible political intervention of a group of Asian-African countries in this conflict, is showing a growing resistance to the policy which gave rise to all historical misunderstandings and inertia operating against Arab unity. Every success in that struggle is an event of extraordinary significance for the Arab world which got two new sovereign representatives when Tunisia and Morocco won their independence. The latest developments in Jordan — the victory of those forces which are sincerely advocating cooperation with Egypt, cooperation which implies opposition to the policy of the spheres of interest and military combinations, also shows that the new anti-bloc climate acts positively on the internal strengthening of the Arab countries.

Such a heterogeneous area — heterogeneous in the sense of various external influences which acted on it in the course of history and which also act today in this area — cannot be viewed from one aspect only, although this article has dealt with the most important, nor will the process which is evolving in it today, always follow the same paths. Many components are visible in it, but one thing is essential: that the Arab countries, at least most of them, already see that the basic condition for their prosperity is their national independence.



Economic problems

FOREIGN TRADE RELATIONS WITH POLAND

A. PARTONIC

AFTER a five year interruption of all economic ties, the relations between Yugoslavia and the countries of Eastern Europe improved appreciably, and are either completely normalized today or currently in the process of normalization.

The trade agreements and other economic arrangements concluded in the beginning of this year laid extremely solid foundations for large scale economic cooperation with the countries of Eastern Europe, primarily the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. This represents a twofold advantage for the Yugoslav economy. On the one hand these countries provide new markets affording broader export possibilities, including also for those articles whose sale in Western Europe are difficult either because of market saturation, or various administrative measures, thus directly contributing to the improvement of the Yugoslav balance of payments. On the other hand, the Yugoslav economy, primarily its industry is rendered less dependent on supplies from Western Europe whose terms do not always correspond to the Yugoslav requirements and possibilities.

This by no means implies however that the restoration of economic relations with the countries of Eastern Europe is developing at the expense of trade relations with Western Europe. On the contrary, the Yugoslav economic relations with the countries of Western Europe and those of other geographic areas are steadily expanding and commodity exchange increasing.

RESTORATION OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH POLAND

After the USSR, Poland figures most prominently among the East European countries in the establishment and promotion of economic cooperation with Yugoslavia. It is considered that solid foundations for mutually profitable cooperation have been laid between the two national economies, with prospects of further expansion in the future, provided the existing economic arrangements are fulfilled in a satisfactory manner. Poland is expected to occupy the seventh or eighth place in over-all Yugoslav foreign trade this year.

After a relatively long interval in economic relations, the first Trade and Payments Agreement between Yugoslavia and Poland was concluded in Beograd on February 12, 1955. The agreement called for 5 million dollars worth of trade on both sides (total 10 million dollars). This agreement was realized about 90% until the end of the period stipulated (December 31, 1955), which is justly considered highly satisfactory, in view of the long intermission of all business contacts.

Four new economic arrangements, were signed in Warsaw in November 1955, namely:

A protocol on the settlement of mutual financial claims deriving from the post war period.

An agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, and

An agreement between the two Governments on the extension of credit to Yugoslavia for the purchase of industrial and transport equipment in Poland.

STRUCTURE OF TRADE

The Trade Protocol provides for 28 million dollars worth of commodity exchange. Hence Poland is really on the way to become an extremely important Yugoslav foreign trade partner all the more so, as the structure of the commodity lists is extremely favourable because it corresponds to the export possibilities of both countries.

The list of Yugoslav exports to Poland includes the following principal items: alumine, zinc concentrate, pyrite, lead, chrome ore, asbestos, barite, sinter magnesite, sawn beech and oak and other sawn timber, sulphite cellulose, tannin, calcined and caustic soda, glycerin, hemp, maize, tobacco, wine, prunes, ferro alloys, various finished wood products, polyvinyl, chemical and pharmaceutical products, shoes, leather clothing, knitwear, fresh fruit, various farm products, canned fish, optical glass, various machines, metal ware, electric materials, etc. The import schedules from Poland include the following items; bituminous coal, coke, gas coal, sugar, ferro-wolfram, electrodes, rolled metals, steel tyres and running gear, machines and spare parts, transport facilities, various hardware, viscose fibre, consumer goods, porcelain ware, etc.

Hence, Yugoslav exports to Poland consist mainly of ores, metals and non-metallic goods, while the share of farm products amounts to about 46% (of which tobacco alone accounts for 38%). On the other hand, about 96% of Yugoslav exports from Poland in 1955 consisted of raw materials and materials for reproduction. This percentage dropped to about 60% in the first half of the year, while the share of machines and vehicles increased.

Coal is an important Yugoslav import from Poland (235,000 tons), which should greatly facilitate the supply of the home industry. Sugar (25,000 tons) is another important item.

The realization of the Protocol is proceeding favourably without any serious obstacles on any part. The only difficulties registered so far arose over the conclusion of the coking coal deliveries (160,000 tons) owing to the high prices quoted by the seller.

OTHER ARRANGEMENTS

In accordance with the Protocol on the settlement of financial claims, the Polish government paid the lump sum of 578,000 dollars within the clearing. Talks are still in progress on the liquidation of some minor mutual claims which remained unsolved during the previous negotiations in Warsaw owing to the lack of documentation.

This example testifies to the fact that negotiated solutions are possible even for the most complicated problems, provided they are approached in a principled manner, and good will as well as a genuine desire for agreement on both sides.

The agreement on scientific and technical cooperation was based on the principle of equal rights and respect of the existing regulations in both countries. It also foresees the mutual exchange of technical documents and data, the exchange of specialists between the two countries for the extension of technical assistance, the exchange of post graduate students, the specialization of technical personnel in the individual sectors of production, as well as other forms of scientific and technical cooperation on which the two governments agree.

The Agreement was concluded for an indefinite period of time, provided notice is given of eventual cancellation a year in advance.

According to the credit arrangement for the purchase of industrial and transport equipment in Poland, the latter is due to make available a 20 million dollar credit to Yugoslavia under the following conditions: 2% interest, utilization over a three year period, and a six year term of repayment beginning from 1959.

An agreement on the establishment of regular service on the Belgrade-Warsaw air line was likewise concluded last November.

As for tourist trade, recommendations were given to the respective organizations of both countries to begin the conclusion of mutual arrangements in this sense.

All these Agreements and other economic instruments concluded between Yugoslavia and Poland so far are currently being fulfilled. Appraising the re-

sults achieved so far in mutual trade as extremely favourable and mutually profitable, the business leaders of both countries are convinced that the Yugoslav-Polish relations are advancing towards an even broader and multifold economic cooperation which should be still more vividly manifested next year.

It is considered that such forecasts are realistic in view of the numerous genuine possibilities which have still not been fully utilized in the atmosphere of the existing mutual goodwill.

STRUGGLE FOR WORLD MARKETS

Vlada MILENKOVIC

THE increasingly intense struggle for markets is a characteristic tendency in capitalist countries today. The expansion of world trade which developed more or less freely for several years has come up against the obstacle of limited absorptive capacity. Needless to say this cannot be said of all countries indiscriminately. Thus for instance West Germany and some other countries have succeeded this year in maintaining the previous rate of increase of foreign trade and export. However the prospect for the maintenance of this tempo are no longer so favourable. This is confirmed by the ever stronger competitive struggle which is waged with equal intensity on the markets of the developed and underdeveloped countries alike. Market expansion has become a crucial problem for the developed capitalist countries as their future production depends on it. Therefore the problems of trade policy, the ways and means for the conquest of new markets have acquired a dominant role in this context. The internal economic and financial policy of a large number of countries aims in many ways at the promotion of foreign trade at an increase of exports proportionate with the needs of growing production. Foreign trade has a far greater impact on production and income in the under developed countries than in those developed. In the long run the volume and terms of foreign trade determine the conditions of economic development in these countries which are again in an unfavourable position today as regards the terms of trade. The fluctuating prices of their exports, namely the instability of their purchasing power exerts an adverse influence on their economic development. The interests the developed countries may have in maintaining the low prices of raw material is imported from the undeveloped countries has become questionable, as such prices limit the import possibilities of the underdeveloped countries at the same time. The position of the undeveloped countries on the world market was particularly aggravated by the ever stronger influence of monopolistic factors in capitalist economy during the past few years.

Let us cite a few concrete phenomena which demonstrate the volume and scope of the present struggle for world markets.

The USA which occupy the foremost position in world trade are beset by an ever greater contradiction. While monopolistic protectionist tendencies show a sustained growth in that country in the one hand, the USA are waging a bitter struggle for the liberalization of world trade in order to expand the markets for their products on the other. The USA are also creating new instruments for the conquest of new markets. Certain measures originally conceived as ad hoc and of a temporary character are gradually acquiring permanency and became an integral part of American long-range economic policy. While striving for the liberalization of world trade the USA are nevertheless implementing a restrictive policy of import quotas, higher customs tariffs (repudiating agreements on lower rates) and prohibition of imports at the same time. The intensity of the struggle waged by the USA for the conquest of new markets, can also be gauged by the ever stronger protests of the countries whose exports are hit by these measures.

Canada recently protested energetically to the US Government against the manner in which the sale of farm surpluses against payment in national currencies is effected, accusing the USA of having converted these sales into a tool for the conquest of new markets. In the opinion of Canada, the USA „profit by the farm surplus programme in order to commit the importer countries of these surpluses over a longer period of time”. Thus for instance Brazil, a big importer of Canadian wheat until recently, now procured this commodity in the USA on the basis of a credit arrangement. In its note of protest Canada reminds the US Government of its statement that „these sales will by no means affect the volume of usual world trade”. In fact these transactions are today being carried out largely at the expense of regular commercial deals which means that farm surpluses are not only delivered to countries which lack the necessary funds and which require assistance in food deliveries, but are also sold to countries which wish to increase their dollar savings.

Another decision of the US Government called forth an unusually strong reaction in some countries. This was the decision to subsidize frozen poultry exports to West Germany. It seems that the violent protests of Denmark and Holland will be of no avail. In this case the USA is in a position to invoke the specific position of their agriculture which was also recognised by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The negative attitude of the USA towards the Agreement on Organisation of Trade Cooperation, which should already have been ratified thus replacing GATT, is also a component part of the struggle for market domination. The USA however are delaying the ratification of this instrument and it is more than unlikely that it could take place during the second half of the present session of Congress. The forces opposed to such an international organization for the regulation of world trade have obviously prevailed in USA. These forces wished to retain a free hand in this respect and will not be hampered by certain provisions which could also have a contrary effect. These are the considerations underlying such an attitude.

West Germany, an unusually important factor in world trade is in a somewhat paradoxical position. Although maintaining the tempo of foreign trade expansion, and an undiminished influx of exchange resulting in growing monetary reserves, West Germany is not free of difficulties. The main difficulty stems from the fact that the favourable position of West Germany concurrently implies an unfavourable position for many of her trade partners primarily the countries of Western Europe. This is best illustrated by the balance sheet of the European Payments Union. According to the figures cited, by the end of September West Germany credited the EPU member countries by over 2,500 million dollars. The modified regime of balance liquidation in the EPU (with greater insistence on gold or dollar coverage of the existing balances) enabled West Germany to accumulate substantial monetary reserves larger than those of Great Britain at the moment for example. Therefore France

was obliged to apply to the international monetary fund for a loan of 260 million dollars as a reserve offsetting the substantial outflow of exchange this year. The role of West Germany as the creditor of Western Europe is now at its climax and at the same time points to the fact that West Germany is approaching the limit of export expansion to these countries. Now she will resolve this situation and succeed in preserving her business position are questions which preoccupy West German economic policy and are of almost equal interest for her partners who would not wish West Germany to resolve her problems without taking in account the interests of countries which might be concerned by such solutions. In this sense the previous orthodox monetary policy of the West German government provoked fairly sharp criticism both in the individual West European countries and the UN Economic Commission for Europe. It is objected that by insisting on exchange stability this policy actually ensured the competitive power of German exports, while maintaining the old ratio of production costs and wages, which are on a lower level than in the other West European countries.

Therefore the recent decision to reduce the discount rate from 5.5% to 5% and the latest increase of coal and steel prices was favourably received in the countries of Western Europe as it is considered that it might mean a certain deviation from the former inflexible monetary policy, or in other words a slackening of German competition on the world market.

The exceptional trade and political situation of Japan also reflects the intensified struggle for markets. It is known that Japan has long since succeeded in being officially admitted to the GATT. However 14 of the 35 member countries of this international agreement including also Great Britain still refuse to recognise the right of Japan to benefit by the GATT customs rates and privileges according to the most favoured nation clause. The attitude of these countries remained unchanged to date in spite of the numerous interventions of Japan and resolute indorsement of its claims by the USA.

Several large scale efforts have also been launched in the field of market policy aiming at the creation of broader trading spheres where commodity traffic could proceed more freely and where the countries concerned would have broader possibilities for the development of production and foreign trade. Two such initiatives are currently under way in West Germany. One is headed by the European Coal and Steel Pool, namely a political forum known as „Little Europe,“ whose objective is the establishment of a common market for six member countries of the coal and steel community in the form of a customs union. The second was launched by the OEEC and consists in the proposal to create a free trade zone, i. e. incomplete customs union as the member countries of the zone could retain their customs autonomy in their relations with non-member countries. Both initiatives are in progress, neither is free of major obstacles, so that it is still hard to say anything definite on the score.

France has voiced severe objections and set a number of conditions for her accession to the joint market project, desiring either the previous or parallel elimination of major economic differences between the member countries, primarily between the French and West German economy. Owing to the appreciable differences which prevail today and which influence mutual competition France asks primarily that she be entitled, also under the regime of a common market, to retain her system of customs for a certain time in order to level the differences between internal and external prices, and also maintain her export supports, subsidies etc.

The special treatment of French foreign trade should be preserved as long and until the gap between the French internal and external prices was eliminated. Therefore France demands that the expenses for social insurance, women's wages and salaries, outlay for child workers holidays, the payment of overtime work, etc. be equalized. There are appreciable differences between these expenditures today, and France stressed that they are one of the fundamental reasons underlying the inadequate competitive power of her products on the world market. France also desires the agree-

ment to come in force only after the liquidation of the conflict in Algeria, and that the transition from one stage to another (as the agreement calls for the gradual establishment of a common market in the course of a 12-15 year period by three consecutive customs reductions) be effected by the decision of every individual country, and not the common decision of all countries.

Judging by all outward appearances, it would seem that agriculture has been excepted from the agreement on a common market. A special regime would have to be implemented governing the sales-purchase of farm products on this markets, enabling each country to retain the regime of state intervention, namely agrarian protectionism.

This free trade zone would represent a broader common market than Little Europe as the markets of six countries would be included within the zone. The member countries of the zone would retain their customs tariffs towards the countries outside the zone, and hence also their political and trade independence. Great Britain showed keen interest for this scheme. Until the advent of this plan, Great Britain was very reserved towards cooperation of this kind. The interests of the Commonwealth were always of prime interest for Great Britain who was not in the least inclined to sacrifice a single of her specific forms of cooperation within the commonwealth, least of all preferential tariffs in favour of European cooperation. It would seem that the Free Trade zone at last provides a solution which would enable the integration of Great Britain in the common market without requiring the sacrifice of her specific interests in the Commonwealth. This solution excludes agriculture and creates a special regime governing the trade of farm products. Consequently the free trade zone would not have to affect the privileged imports of farm products to Britain from the Commonwealth countries, (this being of paramount importance for Britain) as it ensures the preservation of markets for her products in these countries. Moreover the Commonwealth countries could easily broaden the West European market for their products through Great Britain. At any rate, Britain is obviously no longer faced by the dilemma whether to accede to a common West European market or not. Britain is now well aware that to remain aloof from this scheme could easily cause great losses to her economy, and that the West European economy could easily be abandoned to the domination of the West German economy. It is therefore unlikely that Great Britain will remain aloof this time, as she does not wish to be confronted one day by a mighty partner in foreign trade stronger than even the USA.

Some recent steps of the USA deserve careful attention in the light of the present struggle for markets.

Since some time already the USA are sending out trade missions to various regions throughout the world for the study of economic conditions on the spot, establishment of contacts and expansion of business ties. These missions are assigned general and special tasks. They work on the general promotion of US trade relations and the study of sales conditions for concrete articles. Two such teams of missions are now setting forth. One will visit recipient countries of US aid and has the task of drafting and submitting the most efficacious and constructive foreign aid plan to the Government based on the experiences acquired. The other mission will leave for the countries of Latin America, the Near and Middle East and Africa. Since 1954 to date the USA sent 50 such missions to different countries of the world. Each mission consists of businessmen chosen and assigned according to their interest in the regions they visit. Before their departure they spend a few days in Washington and are intensively briefed in the Department of Commerce, where they are acquainted with the economic situation in the country of their destination, its economic relations, status in world trade, and specific US interests in it.

These are only a few details illustrating the present struggle for world markets. It goes without saying that this struggle is also invested with the political aspects which exert a very strong influence as the world is still not free of artificial barriers and frontiers.

Art and criticism

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S FILM REVIEW IN BELGRADE

Ljuba RADICEVIĆ

THE world hears about many film festivals, the world famous festivals in Vennice, Cannes, Berlin, Edinburgh, Karlovy Vary, Pula, as well as occasional-film manifestations, say in Bari or Mar del Plata, but this year the world learned also about a specific film festivity held in September and October in Yugoslavia, that is, in all the principal cities of this country, with the concluding celebration in Belgrade. This was the „International Children's Film Review” organised by the „Film and Child” Committee of the Council of Associations for the Care of Children and Youth in Yugoslavia.

The commission which deals with the question of children's attitude to the film, that is with the influence either positive or harmful, which the film exercises in the education of the young, decided to organize a review of film works intended, directly or indirectly, for the children and youth, with a view to studying the complex attitude of children towards the film. Therefore, this film manifestation has or rather had a primarily scientific and pedagogic character. However, it turned out that the review was also a very significant demonstration of the power and popularity of the seventh art, and hence proved a special film manifestation. The great success of the review has prompted the organizers to consider the possibilities for arranging another such film parade for children perhaps already next year. Of course, its character would again be dominant, as the review is an excellent occasion for the study of children, a rare chance for pedagogues and psychologists, and also for the film producers and playwrights to determine their criterion from such children's auditorium, their taste, concepts, wishes, etc. Besides this, the Commission would try to organize the next review in conjunction with foreign institutions interested in the problems of the influence of the film on youth, so that the working part of the review might also have an international character.

The review attracted over 200,000 children in eight of the largest cities. The audience was exclusively composed of boys and girls aged 7-14. During each show teams of educators and psychologists conducted various studies and tests. Each visitor received a programme with coupons on which the marks 1, 3 and 5 were printed — that is bad, good, excellent. After the show, children were asked to hand in the coupons with their marks for each film. The programme consisted of two short and one full-length film. In eight days the children saw 24 films of which eight were of Yugoslav production, five American, three Soviet, two Czechoslovak, two German and one Chinese, one English, one French and one Rumanian.

After the showing of films, prizes were distributed by the two juries — that of the grown-ups, and the children's jury. The first consisted of educators, psychologists, journalists and film workers while the second was composed of the elementary school and lower secondary school pupils. The first

jury awarded prizes for the following films: „The Red Balloon”, „In the Valley of the Beavers”, „Donald Duck”, „The Pioneer and Bad Marks”, „The Panther's Magic Brush”, „Kekec”, „The Red Cap”, „The Golden Antelope”, „Melodies of the Prairie”, as well as to the productions of „Moscow Film” enterprise from Moscow, „Shanghai-Film” from Shanghai, „Kinema” from Sarajevo and „Jadran” from Zagreb, and finally to the Walt Disney Firm. The second jury differed from the first not only in the selection of films but also in their decision not to give equal prizes to all, as their elders did, but to draw up a rank list of films. Of course, the jury also took into account the views of the children set forth in the enquiry, but was nevertheless independent in its decisions. The children voted Walt Disney's film „In the Valley of the Beavers”, as the best film. They cited their favourites in the following order: „Kekec”, „The Red Balloon”, „The Golden Antelope”, „The Young Fugitive”, „Tom and Jerry”, „Donald Duck”, „The Golden Key”, „Pimpinella”, and „The Painter's Magic Brush”.

These are, indeed, interesting results of children's judgement and taste. But much more important, as well as more interesting, will be the reports of the teams of educators and psychologists who are now studying the material, which is very large, consisting of questionnaires and texts, as well as other forms of children's tests obtained during the eight-day film showing.

Considering that the shows were attended by over 200,000 viewers, then one might expect truly important results in explaining the „film-child”, „phenomenon”.

They will certainly oblige the organizers of the review to persevere in their efforts to perpetuate it, and make it a regular film manifestation of an international character.



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